

# The South African Outlook

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## The South African Outlook

There exist no rights but those which result from fulfilment of duty.

*Mazzini.*

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### Wise words at parting.

On the eve of his retirement as Resident Commissioner of Basutoland, Mr. A. D. Forsyth Thompson, with long experience of African administration in Uganda and Bechuanaland behind him, had some frank and heartening things to say when leading Basuto held a function in his honour.

"I would sound a warning" he told them, "against the oft-repeated fallacy that the African can never become competent to run his own affairs.

"Numerous scientific investigations have shown that in mental capacity the African is in no way inferior to the White and Brown races. He has lagged behind other races in the past because of the lack of opportunity to develop himself, coupled with a certain inertia attributable to environment and other causes."

"The Basuto have a long way to go, and I am not trying to make out that every Mosotho is a Booker T. Washington, a Bunche, an Aggrey, an Nkrumah, a Zik, or even a Tsheke-di, but I can see no reason why the Basuto should not in time build up a body of persons of education, judgment and sound administrative ability.

"I have time and time again been surprised during the last four and a half years at the high degree of competence and political sagacity which is to be found among the leaders of this independent and proud people.

"We have in the best sense worked as a team; and I would beseech you to continue to do so, since the successful social, political and economic growth of this country depends vitally on the European.

"But it can only be successful if there is mutual goodwill between European and African. Retain that and you need have no fear of Communism or about the stability of your own position in this country."

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### The Protectorates again.

The Prime Minister has returned once more to the matter of the High Commission Territories, claiming that he was doing so only in the interests of South Africa. It is apparently a favourite topic with him, and the imminent arrival of a new High Commissioner for the United Kingdom may possibly have prompted him to keep the matter to the fore.

It is not difficult to understand the importance which he attaches to the subject as a politician, but when he speaks as if there were a definite obligation on the part of the British Government to hand the territories over to the Union and any delay about doing so was a legitimate matter for complaint, it is not easy to take him as seriously as he would wish.

For one thing, all that the South Africa Act, (about the total or partial validity of which Dr. Malan appears to be rather "choosy") says is that the King, with the advice of the Privy Council, may, on addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Union, admit the Territories into the Union. The previous clause, (No. 150), deals with the possible admission of Southern Rhodesia into the Union in precisely similar terms, and it is quite clear that there is no more obligation to hand over in the case of the Protectorates than there is in the case of Southern Rhodesia. The Prime Minister should be as well aware of this as anybody else, but he has not happened to refer to it in his public discussions of the matter.

Furthermore, in regard to one of the territories concerned, namely Bechuanaland, the position appears to be that the Union has not even the first claim. It may be recalled that towards the end of 1949, when the Southern Rhodesian Minister of the Interior said that he had been promised in London "that Southern Rhodesia's views would receive full consideration should any change in the status of the Protectorate be contemplated," Dr. Malan was most



indignant, asserting that "the disposal of the Protectorate is a matter exclusively and solely between these two countries, (i.e. Britain and the Union), in fact in such a degree that even the conditions of transfer are specifically laid down." But Mr. W. A. Godlonton, of Salisbury, has pointed out recently that more than sixty years ago a valid claim was staked for Southern Rhodesia in the Royal Charter of the Chartered Company of 1889. This was confirmed more than once in subsequent years, and in 1895 the Secretary of State definitely offered the administration of the country to the Chartered Company on specified terms, and the Company accepted it. A day or so later, however, the Jameson Raid started and the Company was notified that "the matter must now stand over for the present"—which it has continued to do ever since. But it looks as if Southern Rhodesia, the heir of the Chartered Company, has a claim in regard to one of these Territories which merits priority of consideration over that of the Union.

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#### The Orange River in Basutoland.

It is hardly possible to see the mighty gorges through which the Orange River and its great tributaries pursue their unhurried way in Basutoland without thinking how great are the possibilities lying undeveloped there in the mountains for both the storage of water and its use for hydro-electric power. Here lies one of the greatest of the Territory's natural resources. And at last the matter of development is being taken in hand. An initial survey by a civil engineer is now being followed up by a thorough and detailed study which is expected to take at least two years and to cost something like a quarter of a million. One most encouraging feature of the preliminary survey is the remarkable freedom of these upper reaches of the great river from the silt which creates such serious problems lower down in the Union. It is far too early for any details of any scheme to be available, but there appears to be no shortage of excellent sites for a series of barrages which could regulate the flow and conserve the water of the river with a view to the development of a very great deal of electric power to be carried far afield through the Territory and into the Union. The old and popular legend of great mineral resources locked up in Basutoland was laid to rest by geological survey some time ago, but the immense water wealth is now to be revealed and used.

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#### Quis custodiet ipsos custodes ?

Senator Brookes elicited some very distressing information from the Minister of Justice in the Senate during the recent session. He was told that from the first of January, 1949 to the thirtieth of April, 1951, no fewer than 399 members of the Police were found guilty of assaults, 347 by the courts and 52 departmentally. Of these assaults

54 were on Europeans and 345 on Non-Europeans. Fifty-one of the culprits were dismissed from the force and eighty-nine were disciplined. What happened to the other 259 was not stated. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that far too many of the young men who are recruited for the Force are of the type that gets a bit above itself when clothed with authority, a matter which should invite the special attention of those who are entrusted with their training.

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#### Is it good enough ?

The scene is the House of Assembly and the Minister concerned is defending the action of the Police over the rioting which had recently taken place outside. He will not insult them, he says with curious logic, by appointing any commission of enquiry. They have themselves investigated some of the complaints and he cites some examples in confirmation of their entire guiltlessness. There was a St. John's Ambulance woman worker, for instance, who said that she was felled by a policeman's baton. She thought that the policeman wore a blue uniform, but a bystander, who confirmed that the policeman hit her, said that the colour of his uniform was khaki. Moreover, if that did not prove the policeman's innocence, the Minister is reported to have pointed out, the woman had said that she had a coat on over her St. John's uniform! Surely the police had a difficult enough task on that most unfortunate occasion and hardly merited the additional embarrassment of advocacy of this sort.

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#### A great Scientist's Faith.

The Robert Broom Memorial Lecture was delivered before the Congress of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in Durban last month by Professor Raymond Dart of the University of the Witwatersrand, who had for many years been so intimately associated with the great anthropologist. He spoke with feeling and unique understanding about Dr. Broom's discoveries which have "transformed South Africa in general and the Pretoria Museum in particular into a Mecca to which every anthropologist throughout the world hopes he may be fortunate enough to make his pilgrimage at least once before he dies." And then he went on in a most interesting passage to speak about the relation between his scientific work and his religion. "Dr. Broom" he said, "was a life-long and thorough student of the Bible, the Book he actually knew and loved as literature, the best of all books. He welcomed the numerous opportunities he had of functioning as a lay preacher. He believed in the disembodied existence of spirits. His favourite method of learning a foreign language was by getting a Bible—with whose text he was so conversant—in that language." A deeply religious man, he would accept



no final conflict between religion and science. "Physical evolution, according to Robert Broom, was now completed but it was merely a preparation for the evolution of personality, which still lies before humanity. To him evolution was design, not chance. The faint beginnings of the evolution of personality were symbolised by the great physical and spiritual liberators of mankind, personalities like those of Joan of Arc, the liberator of France, John Brown, the liberator of the slaves, or Gandhi, the liberator of India."

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### Margaret Brittan, M.B.E.

More than thirty years of selfless and very understanding service of African girls came to an end when a sudden call came for Margaret Brittan in the Maseru Hospital towards the end of May. Coming to South Africa as a worker of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the early twenties, she taught for a few years at St. Matthew's Institution near Keiskama Hoek under Canon Cardross Grant, before being appointed to St. Catherine's School, Maseru, where her main work was done. After several years of association with Miss Ladbroke she succeeded her as principal about fourteen years ago. She was a great soul, devoted, understanding, resourceful, humorous, and quite unsparing of herself. Through her most capable work as a Wayfarer-Guide leader she served the Basuto far beyond the bounds of her own school, and they came in great numbers to her last rites to say farewell to her. "There was never such a funeral in Maseru," said an old Mosuto.

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### Alice Bowie, M.B.E.

Within a few weeks Basutoland suffered a second great loss in the death of Miss A. M. Bowie. Under the auspices of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society she had given more than thirty years of her life to the service of young people. After teaching with great success for several years at the Morija Training College, she became principal of the Training College for Girls at Thabana Morena. Here she developed Infant Teacher training of a very high quality indeed. "Ma Mosa" (Mother of Peace) was a most gifted woman of wide culture and unwearied devotion, whose friendship meant very much to the hundreds of girls who passed through her hands and with whom she kept touch after they were at work. As with Miss Brittan, the fine service she rendered qualified her as one whom the King delighted to honour, and her decoration was presented to her during the royal visit to Basutoland in 1947.

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### The World Christian Digest.

We wish to draw our readers' attention to the excellent monthly, *The World Christian Digest*. In it we have a serious and successful attempt to bring together Christian

thought, experience and news from the World Church to the World Church. The advisory selectors are an impressive body, including such names as Principal John Baillie, the Bishop of Worcester (Right Rev. W. W. Cash), Dr. G. F. MacLeod, Dr. W. E. Sangster, Canon M. A. C. Warren, Dr. Leslie Weatherhead and others equally well-known and esteemed. Copies may be obtained direct from The Pathfinder Press, 77 Carter Lane, London E. C. 4, or from Mr. J. Semmelink, 575, 12th Avenue, Gezina, Pretoria. The price is 14/- per annum post free.

### "TELL ME THE NAME."

A group of Bedouin women were listening for the first time to the preaching of the Gospel. It was all new to them, and one woman was afraid she might even forget the Name which had fallen so sweetly on her ears. "Tell me the Name again," she pleaded, and returned to her wandering life with the Name of Jesus as her only link with Eternal truth.

### "TELL ME THE NAME"

*Tell me the Name again, lest I forget it,  
The Name of Him who died to set us free,  
'Tis JESUS, SAVIOUR, ne'er wilt thou forget it,  
If thou wilt let His love lay hold on thee.*

*His Name above all other names is glorious,  
A place of refuge in the day of strife;  
To trust Him fully is to be victorious,  
In every hour and circumstances of life.*

*Tell me the Name then, when the day is dawning,  
Ere through the busy world my way I take.  
'Tis WONDERFUL—He'll gild the dullest morning,  
If thou wilt live thy life for Jesus' sake.*

*Tell me the Name when noontide finds me viewing,  
With anxious eyes, the problems that oppress.  
'Tis COUNSELLOR—Thy failing strength renewing,  
He'll teach thee wisdom, banish thy distress.*

*Tell me the Name when evening shadows, creeping  
O'er land and sea, proclaim the coming night,  
'Tis EVERLASTING FATHER—He, unsleeping,  
Will let no threat of ill thy soul affright.*

*Tell me the Name when, life's short journey ending,  
My senses fail, my mortal eyes grow dim.  
'Tis PRINCE OF PEACE—all human peace transcending,  
He'll give thee rest; thou shalt abide in Him.*

*Tell them the Name, its beauty, its perfection,  
Who never heard our blessed Master's fame,  
Tell of His life, His death, His resurrection,  
Tell of His power to save, TELL THEM THE NAME!*

(British Syrian Mission)



## Native Education Commission Report

WE have read with deep interest the report in Assembly *Hansard* of the debate which followed the statement of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science regarding the Native Education Commission's Report. This report could not be laid before Parliament during the past session as it still had to be translated and printed, but the Minister summarised some of the chief recommendations.

It is noteworthy that the Minister emphasized that the report did not necessarily represent Government policy.

Three important points that emerged were :

- (1) The Commission recommends that a general development plan be devised for the Bantu population and that Bantu education be so planned as to assist in the most effective way to achieve aims set for it.
- (2) The Commission is convinced that this can only be achieved if Native Education throughout the country is brought under one control, under one Government Department, and that the only Department suitable is the Department of Native Affairs. This implies taking away the administration of Native Education from the Provinces.
- (3) The Commission recommends that active participation of the Bantu communities be obtained by handing over local management, under effective control of the Department of Native Affairs, as soon as possible, to Bantu authorities, and that in time the Native people be expected to make proportionately larger contributions for their own education.

The debate that followed was a spirited one, with some notable contributions, and unfortunately, as usual, some with little knowledge of Native education but abundant animus against it.

Dr. D. L. Smit of East London, from his large experience of the subject, emphasized that the recommendations involved a big constitutional issue, as education was one of the important functions of the Provinces. As in past times, he made it clear that he did not favour transfer of Native Education to the Native Affairs Department. He thought it was better to leave Native Education where it is. Dr. Smit made a vigorous defence of highly educated Natives whom Mr. S. M. Loubser had described as "the agitators," their agitation, Mr. Loubser said, being due to the fact that Europeans gave them the wrong kind of education.

Mrs. Ballinger stated that she favoured Native Education coming under a central authority but she was dubious about the proposition that the education of the Native population should conform to a pattern of Native policy. She contended that it was not true to say that Native Education as it has existed up to the present time "aims at the cultural integration with the Europeans of a relatively

small minority of Natives." She held that the education which had been given to the mass of the people was the sort of education which experience had shown to be necessary in order to release the intelligence of the community for exactly the sort of jobs which society calls upon them to do. She indicated that there was likely to be trouble, from Natal especially, over the proposal to take Native Education away from the Provinces.

One of the most significant contributions to the debate was that of Mr. Nel who was himself a member of the Native Education Commission. He contended that it was the desire of the Nationalist Party to give the "correct education for Natives, the Native's primary education, his secondary education and his university education." The Nationalist Party wished to give the best type of education for Natives, no inferior kind of education lower than that for Europeans, but a type of education that will enable the Native to be of use to his own community. Mr. Nel made the comment :

"The important matter in connection with Native education is this : if one looks at the position to-day, one is struck by the absolute aimlessness of Native education. If one looks at the whole position over the past decade, it can justly be said that it was 'the road which led nowhere.' What use are the majority of the educated Natives to the Native population to-day ? Very little."

Mr. Nel went on to allege that in the control of Native Education to-day there is a chaotic state of affairs. That was why it was recommended that Native Education should come under the Department of Native Affairs. Mr. Nel then made the following significant statement :

"There are many important reasons for this recommendation. It demands primarily and emphatically that Native education shall be taken away from missionary bodies and from the Provinces and that it shall be placed under the Central Government, also as far as control is concerned. It is not a request, it is a demand, and to a large extent it is justified."

Mr. Nel went on to say that if that demand was complied with it would give considerable satisfaction to the Native population. The latter admittedly wanted Native Education to come under the Union Department of Education, but the Native Education Commission differed from them in this, chiefly because Native Education must be linked up with the whole process of Native development.

It was noteworthy that despite expressed misgivings of some members of the Government party, the estimates for the year showed increases, the vote under "Native Education" amounting to £6,424,000. The sum given for bursaries for Native medical students is £4,500. With the



opening of the new Non-European Medical Department of the Natal University, no further bursaries for Native medical students will be allotted to the Witwatersrand or Cape Town universities. In 1957 it is hoped to provide 30 bursaries of £150 a year and 75 bursaries of £200. This will amount to £19,500. Half of the bursaries are granted in the form of loans which are repayable, and certain conditions about later services to the Native community or Government are attached. Concerning the

Natal medical course, the Minister made the remark: "The course proposed for the Native medico in Natal is somewhat shorter because the need is so urgent. Their period of study is not as full as that laid down for Europeans in their medical schools. We anticipate that it will be a number of years—it may perhaps be ten or fifteen—before we can even think of placing full responsibility in the hands of the people we are training to-day at the University of Natal and for which provision is made."

## Dr. John Philip, 1775-1851

THE first half of the twentieth century was marked in South Africa by jubilee celebrations by towns, churches, clubs and other organisations that had survived the first fifty years of their existence in this young country. The second half of the century is likewise to be marked by centenary celebrations and one of the first to be noticed is the centenary of the death of Dr. John Philip at Hankey in 1851. His tombstone is still to be seen in the grounds of the church there and the epitaph reads simply: "Dr. John Philip, Father, Adviser, Friend, Defender and greatest Missionary of the Cape Coloured people."

When the Rev. Dr. John Philip came to South Africa in 1819 with the Rev. John Campbell, he had made an engagement with the London Missionary Society to serve for five years. The purpose of his service was "to gain a more thorough knowledge of the actual state of the missions, set them in order, and if possible secure the cordial co-operation of the colonial government in their favour." He soon came under the spell of the country and stayed until he died thirty-one years later. During that time he acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the missions and of the whole country, and could speak with better knowledge of conditions than most government officials. The work of the London Missionary Society developed in scope under his superintendence, which was marked by a spirit of unity among the missions and missionaries. His third objective, the cordial co-operation of the colonial government, eluded him to the very end of his life.

### KNOWLEDGE OF SOUTH AFRICA

Very few men in his generation had the opportunity given to John Philip by his superintendence of the London Missionary Society mission stations of being in constant touch with affairs throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. Every second year during his long period of service he trekked by ox-wagon from Cape Town to the mission stations. All the time he was receiving reports from missionaries, not only of his own society but from men of the Paris Evangelical Society in Basutoland and of the American Board of Missions in Natal. As a constant traveller he had time to observe, ponder and write about the country. His journeys took him to Lattakoo (now

Kuruman) in the north and British Kaffraria in the Eastern Cape. His main interest being the non-European inhabitants, he was able to describe their conditions and draw attention to their needs. His descriptions were not always complimentary and his appeals for assistance more than often took the form of a challenge. But this was to be expected from a dour Scot who at the age of twenty had resigned from a Scottish "power" mill in Dundee because he could not sanction the conditions of labour to which the child labourers in the mill were subjected. In these journeys he was ably assisted by his capable wife who managed the affairs of his society and of the French Missionary Society during his absence. In his travels in this and other countries, John Philip formed many friendships with people of standing, many of whom were able to assist him in getting things done in a shorter time than official channels would allow. Principals of Scottish colleges, leading humanitarians, admirals, judges, astronomer Sir John Herschel, evangelical leader Thomas Buxton, Andrew Murray, William Shaw and many others feature in the correspondence of this broadminded ecclesiastical statesman. During his early years in South Africa, when there was no popular or representative assembly and public meetings of citizens were strictly controlled, such correspondence was highly valued and widely discussed. His writings appealed to the fledgling press and he became involved in the quarrel between the press and the aristocratic governor, Lord Charles Somerset. Before he had been in South Africa many years he found himself to be a man of affairs and was soon accused by civil servants and some fellow missionaries of meddling in politics. In reply to this accusation he said: "If a minister is guilty of a dereliction of his duty in advocating the cause of the oppressed, or in relieving the necessity of the destitute, I plead guilty to the charge."

### ORDERING OF THE MISSIONS

During his service in South Africa Dr. John Philip had the joy of seeing the number of mission stations under his charge grow from fifteen to thirty-three and the number of missionaries from nineteen to thirty-seven. When he arrived in South Africa he found the government deter-



mined to destroy the institutions like Caledon Institution and Pacaltsdorp. Bethelsdorp and Theopolis were on the brink of ruin because the local authorities were requisitioning the labour of the inhabitants at a time when they should be working their own lands. The institutions had become reservoirs of labour to which European farmers turned for seasonal casual labour. They also became places of refuge for unemployable youths and old people. The policy he adopted was to appoint schoolmasters, builders who could apprentice young men, and shopkeepers who would develop the life of the missions into self-contained communities. He encouraged the opening of savings-banks and persuaded the missionaries to make their religious services shorter and more varied. He put before them the ideal of ministers coming forward from among the people, and, while ministering to a European church in Cape Town, he trained some of them himself.

The work of the London Missionary Society was consolidated under his leadership. Salary scales were arranged for missionaries and these included children's allowances. Men were moved to the most strategic stations, where the people were more settled. He decided long before Cecil Rhodes came into the picture, that the work among the Bechuana was the gateway to Central Africa and he kept men stationed there. He probably had much to do with the decision of the French missionaries to work among the Basuto and with the concentration of the American missionaries on the Zulus as their field of service. He was wise enough to see that in a country with a small and scattered population overlapping of mission work would be wasteful and many churchmen of various denominations looked to him as adviser and guide in missionary matters.

### RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT

After his first two tours of the mission stations Philip came to the conclusion that the government was antagonistic to missions because the colonists dreaded the improvement of the Hottentots. The missionaries were developing the Hottentots into independent, civilized communities and the farmers, who had lost some of their labourers at the emancipation of the slaves, had nowhere to turn for cheap labour. The missionaries outside the colony were also reporting on the occupation of the land of the inhabitants by trekking European farmers and the farmers looked upon them as spies. Dr. Philip maintained that the Hottentots should have the right to bring their labour to a fair market rather than be forced into labour by taxation measures that gave no citizenship rights. The culmination of his struggle was the passing of Ordinance 50 by the British parliament. The Coloured people of the Cape have enjoyed the rights of full and equal citizenship until 1951 because of the belief of John Philip that "they shall sit every one under his own vine and under his own fig-tree and none shall make them afraid." This belief he applied to the unhappy 1820 settlers in the Eastern Province and also to the African chiefs of the Ciskei.

Such was the man who died at Hankey in 1851. Ten years previously Dr. David Livingstone had written from Port Elizabeth: "I lived in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Philip for a month. I went to them full of prejudice against them and I left with my prejudices completely thawed and my mind imbued with great respect for the upright Christian character they both exhibited. All good missionaries speak of their conduct towards them with great affection."

G. OWEN LLOYD.

## The Advisory Board for Native Education in the Transvaal

### A PROPOSAL OF VERY DOUBTFUL VALUE

**S**EGREGATION appears to have a peculiar and irresistible appeal for Transvaal officialdom. The prevailing idea there, if you have to lay down lines of administration for a situation that is a bit involved, seems to be that you segregate in some way. As a policy it may often be thought to be going to simplify departmental worries, but it may also be very mischievous.

The latest field for the application of this panacea appears to be Native Education, for it is now proposed to limit the scope of the Advisory Board for Native Education, which has for many years contributed so much to the development of Native Education in general in the northern province, to mission schools only. The regulations and instructions under which the Board has functioned are to

be revised on the ground that at the time of their formulation the overwhelming majority of Native schools belonged to or were controlled by churches and missions, whereas now the non-mission school has not only established itself, but is growing in strength, while regional school boards have brought Native communities, tribal and other, into direct touch with the Department. So the old Advisory Board is to be contracted into a Transvaal Advisory Board on Mission Schools. This is, apparently, to concern itself with mission schools only and to have nothing to do with "undenominational schools." But as to what are to be regarded as mission schools there appears to be considerable uncertainty and it is suggested that the Department proposes to remove from the purview of the Board all



"undenominational schools" and that under this category may be included interdenominational, non-denominational and tribal schools.

Naturally there is considerable anxiety in the missionary ranks over this development in Departmental policy, which must inevitably tend to divide in a sphere where nothing is more undesirable or productive of inefficiency than division. More than half the schools today are still church or mission schools and more than half the pupils in both primary and secondary schools are from mission schools. Moreover many tribal and community schools are working in the closest contact with the local churches or missions, and to break or weaken this contact would be most unfortunate.

Nor do we believe that the Department would gain anything by lessening the contact of the Advisory Board with Native education as a whole. It is deeply indebted

to the Board which embodies the experience of more than a hundred years, which is enthusiastic, and which has on occasion saved it from errors. It needs more than ever today the Christian emphasis which the Board can contribute. No body which it may establish to advise on the non-mission schools can hope to give that so effectively. Moreover it will in the future have to do with two bodies instead of one, and it may often find that a great nuisance.

It would seem that a wiser course might be found along the road that the Natal department has followed with the happiest results, by enlarging instead of cashiering the old Advisory Board, so that there can be no feeling that it has ceased to be truly representative. We do not believe that any Education Department can afford to do without a strong liaison body of this kind, but to have two, or more creates more difficulties than it solves.

## The Police and the People

IN the latest issue of *Britain To-Day* there appears an interesting article on the British Police. Here are a few extracts.

"The usual impression one gets of an English policeman is of someone rather slow, very solid, but essentially good-humoured. Nor is this impression very far wrong. For it is a fundamental principle of police work in Britain that the policeman is there to help, protect and comfort his fellow-citizens, not to excite them or to start up needless hue-and-cries. His first task when he comes upon an incident such as a road accident or a street brawl is to calm down all the people concerned. He should therefore, never lose his temper, he should never allow himself to become flustered, and he should always be sure that every action he takes is right according to the law because he himself is personally responsible for his actions. He is a civilian looking after his fellow-citizens, and, except in the Metropolitan Police, he is *not* a servant of the State.

"It has also always been maintained in Britain that it is only very rarely necessary for a policeman to be armed. We prefer that a policeman should do his work by tact and persuasion rather than by force. It means that he must win the sympathy and help of his law-abiding fellows if he is to do his work at all efficiently—and that in turn leads to the happy, easy relationship between police and public which is so marked a feature of British life.

"Finally, although Scotland Yard—which is simply the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police in London—provides certain national services, there is no national police force in Britain. The police, in fact, are divided among 129 separate police forces in England and Wales and 45 in Scotland. The forces vary in size from the enormous Metropolitan Police with 20,000 men to small

country forces with less than seventy men. Each force is administered by its own local police authority to which alone it is responsible. The Home Secretary, who is a member of the Cabinet and is responsible for the internal security of the country, is only allowed to ensure that each force maintains a certain standard of efficiency and to co-ordinate police developments and training; he is not allowed to interfere with, or to direct, the operations of any force except the Metropolitan Police for which he is the police authority.

"The insistence on these principles and limitations of police activity in Britain has led to the development of extraordinary police methods. Mention the word 'psychology' to a village constable and he will probably shy away like a startled horse, but in fact all British police methods are based on a profound knowledge of people, and every time some village constable deals with an incident, he puts into practice psychological tricks which most psychiatrists have learnt only after several years of expensive training. . . . .

"Then there is the method of dealing with riots. Experience has shown that nothing subdues an unruly crowd so quickly as the rump of a nervous horse edged into their midst, but even this sometimes fails; all who have seen a riot in progress know how impossible it is to make the rioters behave reasonably once violence has broken out. In Britain, the police do sometimes use their batons on these occasions, but the more usual practice is for the police on foot to lock arms and with the help of the mounted police to move the crowd back off the street on to the pavements, so confining them in a narrow space where they cannot fight easily. Other policemen meanwhile seek out those who appear to be the ring-leaders and take



them into custody. The method is usually successful, but it takes time and a considerable amount of courage and patience to carry it out. . . . .

"In ordinary, every-day occurrences such as road accidents or a drunken man making a nuisance of himself in the street, the policeman's most effective weapon is his notebook. The sight of a policeman carefully, and perhaps laboriously, taking down every word that is said has a remarkably calming effect on most people. The policeman may use the trick of pretending to be a much slower writer than he is, or he may deliberately quote at length some long involved passage of the relevant law, all with the object of quietening people down and making them collect their wits before he gets down to the real work of sorting out the trouble or disturbance.

"The reason is that the man or woman who has just had his pocket picked or the woman who has just seen a cyclist knocked down by a car is nearly always in such a state as to be quite unable to give a coherent account of

what has happened, and until the policeman has calmed him or her down, it is impossible to obtain the real facts of the case. A policeman may not alter any entry in his notebook—all entries must be written in indelible pencil or ink—and all the pages are numbered. As a policeman usually writes up his entries on the spot, his notebook is among the most reliable items of evidence that is produced in court, and that fact adds greatly to its effectiveness as a means of keeping law and order."

The article ends with the words: "There are about 70,000 policemen in Britain, roughly one for every 600 people. . . . . It is no great exaggeration to say that the peaceful, easy atmosphere which strikes the visitor to these islands is largely the result of their quiet work."

We suggest that the ideals and methods described above, if applied in South Africa, would revolutionize our unsatisfactory situation as between police and, especially, our Non-European people.

## Sursum Corda

"*Fear not*". Luke 12 : 32.

**F**EAR is the greatest enemy of mankind. It has wrought havoc in international relationships and in individual lives, and perhaps the most damaging and the most difficult to deal with is the kind of vague mental fear which is the curse of some temperaments,—the fear of life. It is the cause of as much suffering and inefficiency as some of the physical diseases. Like the common cold it does not kill, but it causes a mass of misery.

Unfortunately religion too often, instead of relieving this fear, has increased it. The wrong kind of religious appeal has based itself on fear, and so to natural fears have been added supernatural ones. People instead of "fearing God" in the Scriptural meaning,—respecting One who is good, wise, loving, holy—have come to be afraid of Him.

This is all unchristian, if Christianity is taken to mean the teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ. One of the phrases most frequently on His lips was "Fear not." He was continually telling His disciples and others not to be afraid and not to keep on worrying. This attitude of fear, He implied, does no good and is dishonouring to God; for the world and all life are under the control of the One who clothes the lilies and feeds the birds. Fear to Him was not merely a negative attitude—the absence of courage,—but a positive evil, and He called it "Hardness of heart," a refusal to trust, "Oh you silly people! Why can't you trust your Father?" He kept on saying.

It was not only in His words, but by His whole life, that He taught the lesson of trust. If only we would read the Gospels with open eyes, we would see about Him a gaiety

which must have been charming in its contrast to the gloominess of so much of the religion around Him. One of the greatest disservices to the world has been the building up of the tradition of Him as always the "Man of Sorrows," the stained-glass window figure, the figure of the crucifix. The poet Swinburne could write:—

"Thou hast conquered, O Pale Galilean, the World has grown grey from thy breath."

Pale Galilean! That is not a portrait of Christ; that is a caricature, a libel. What a thing to say about one who shines out from the Gospel pages with a joy, a power, an insouciance which have never been equalled in the pages of fiction.

See Him striding off to dinner with his Publican friends, to enjoy the company and the good things. At the door there is a lugubrious group of critics—Pharisees and the Disciples of John. "Why does your master behave like this?" they say, "Why can't He be more serious? Why does he keep such disreputable company? Why doesn't he teach you to fast?"

And one of the disciples, feeling a little ashamed perhaps, takes the Master up on the point. Listen to His reply, "Fast! Why should you fast? Time enough to fast when the Bridegroom is taken away," in other words, when God is dead, for He said "Lo, I am with you always."

He goes into a synagogue on the Sabbath Day. There is a poor woman there, bent double for eighteen years. He could easily have waited an hour or so and done it quietly afterwards. He knows there will be a row. But no, with



a twinkle in His eye as He looks at the solemn ruler, so anxious about the solemnity of the service and the Sabbath, He calls the woman to hobble out and cures her then and there. It is written "All the people rejoiced for the glorious things that were done." There had never been a service like that in that synagogue.

Pale Galilean ! Jesus is in hiding—not from fear, for He will give His enemies their chance when He is ready—but because He wants a quiet time to give His children—His disciples—the spiritual food they need. He hopes He will be unrecognised in Phoenicia. As He goes into a house, however, a woman begs Him to heal her daughter. To do so would be to proclaim His presence to the world. Good-bye to all hopes of quiet. What does He do ? He quotes a Greek proverb to her "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs," the equivalent of "Charity begins at home." But the quick-witted Greek woman caps it with another proverb "Don't you know ? Even the little pet dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from the master's table," just as we might cap "Too many cooks spoil the broth" with "many hands make light work." Can't you hear the hearty laugh as He says "Get along with you, woman, your daughter is healed ?" Immediately He had to pack up again and get off to some other place for the quiet He needed.

Can that be beaten in the pages of the "Three Musketeers" or the "Scarlet Pimpernel ?" Why do the artists not sometimes paint Him laughing ? Why must the devil have all the laughter ?

How could Jesus face life in such a spirit ? It was not because He did not feel or was callous. He was not always laughing. At times the pain and suffering in the world weighed heavily on His soul. It is continually said of Him that "He was filled with compassion." That did not mean, however, that He went about with a gloomy face, any more than a good doctor does when he visits a patient. It was not because He did not feel, but because He rose above the tragedy in life. He had the secret of victory and peace, a perfect confidence in the love of His heavenly Father. He looked beyond the seen to the unseen.

Lest we should think that it came easily to Him, that He achieved serenity because He was of a different make-up from us, the curtain is sometimes drawn aside, as on the scene in the Garden of Gethsemane. Here we see the Lord in a momentary recoil from all that the future held, the horror great darkness, and He prays : "Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," but there is also the almost instantaneous sinking into the rest of faith. "Nevertheless not my will but thine be done." No, peace did not come easily ; it was not the peace of absence of conflict but the peace of victory.

"And angels came and ministered unto Him." Angels of comfort. How often would they come and minister to us if we had confidence in our Father's love, so that terrors would depart and we would rise with a new strength.

"Why are ye so fearful ?" "Why don't you believe ?" What a difference it would make to the lives of so many of us if we would have that confidence.

Many of us get halfway. We are consciously or unconsciously afraid of life, and when things go badly we run to God for help. We cling to the promises of God while retaining our fear. This is not a bad thing. Many souls have been made strong and brave by the promises of God. In darkness, trouble and sorrow blessed is the man whose refuge is in the Lord. This kind of faith must by no means be despised, but it is not the highest. It is the Maginot Line strategy. The faith of Jesus was higher. He teaches us not merely to run to God in trouble, but to live in God and He in us.

"The name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth into it and is safe." A fine thought, but better is :

"Not I, but Christ who liveth in me."

"Your life is hid with Christ in God."

"Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

The religion of Jesus was not a religion of prohibitions as some are always trying to make it, but a religion of confidence, a religion of setting free and expanding every capacity, a religion of going out to grasp and heighten everything that is good in life and in humanity. "Christ in you the hope of glory." We are to be like Him, not to shrink from the conflict, but to overcome by the power that is in us and around us. Jesus teaches us that although bad things may happen in the world and to us as they happened to Him, nothing can really harm or defeat one who abides in Him.

"Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

His words are echoed by the greatest of His servants. Read the list of things that happened to St. Paul, and remember that it was he who said :

"We know that all things work together for good to them that love God." "If God be for us who can be against us ?"

"In all these things we are more than conquerors."

"Neither death nor life . . . nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Jesus Christ our Lord."

J. M. BURTON.

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**It is always the duty of the moral man, the religious man, to defy what is often called "race prejudice", to fight it incessantly and continually to reestablish the consciousness of a single family.**

—Croce.



# The Church and Communism

## PART II

*The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland appointed a Commission on Communism. This Commission has been at work with great thoroughness, and when the Assembly met in Edinburgh towards the end of May it submitted a long and realistic report. It is our intention to give our readers the opportunity of reading this remarkable document, although it will take several months to accommodate it in our columns. Last month we gave the opening section, and below there follows a further section.*

—Editors, "The South African Outlook."

### THE MARXIST BASIS OF COMMUNISM

*The Vision of an Ideal Society.*—From time to time, and especially in times of tyranny or social disorder, men have dreamed of a perfect human society in which they might dwell in comradely good will, sharing freely the good things of life: a society in which there would be justice for all, even the least; where war would be no more known; where power would be united with goodness and used only to protect the weak, to rebuke the evil-doer, to produce abundance, to promote the arts and innocent enjoyments of a truly civilised existence. This may seem far removed from the actual Communism which menaces our world to-day—and, indeed, Marx and his followers repudiate with scorn all "utopian" visions of social perfection. It is as a realistic down-to-earth fighting force based on "materialism" that Communism likes to present itself. But we shall make a mistake if we fail to recognise an element of vision and aspiration in it, which links Marx with Plato and Sir Thomas More, and even with the Book of Acts and the prophet Isaiah. The use of the word "Comrade" as a mode of address for the highest and the lowest may have become formal. It may be applied only within the limits of party and working class, yet it had, and keeps yet, something of the glow of an ideal. The Communist states as his aim a "classless society" where no one will have power and few will have inclination to exploit their fellows. In that society he believes the principle will be effective "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need."<sup>1</sup> He is convinced that only in this society will men be truly free, able to develop their full human powers, released from the pressures of economic necessity and social domination. The early acts of the Bolshevik government included the abolition of the death penalty for (non-political) criminal offences, and the

initiation of hopeful schemes for the reformation of the criminal. Lenin believed in the possibility of a voluntary governmental administration by the people themselves, with a limited civil service in which no one would receive more than an artisan's wages. Original Communism ventured even the hope that the State, with its powers of coercion, would become superfluous and wither away.

These generous hopes may seem to be utopian in a sense that Communism itself condemns and even despises. They are, no doubt, inconsistent both with human nature and with other elements in Communist thought and practice. But they are there as a living element in Communism, and they give to it for many who are distressed by the irrationalities and inequities of existing societies, something of the ideal character of a religion.

Yet Communism repudiates utopianism as a snare and a delusion, a kind of wishful thinking which draws away the attention of men from their present wrongs, and keeps them from asking, "Where do we go from here?" By contrast with all Utopias, Marxist thought links up the perennial vision of a society of comrades with the actual process of history. According to this theory the historical evolution of society is a process, the laws of which can be discerned, and which moves inevitably towards the realisation of the Communist vision. The nature of these laws of social development is indicated by the term "dialectical materialism," used as a description of the Marxist philosophy. At the risk of undue simplification, some description of this must now be attempted.

*Communism as Philosophy and Social Theory.*—In Marxist thought the emphasis on *matter* as the ultimate reality may be regarded as a definite rejection of the religious belief in any transcendent source of the universe. Such understanding of the world (including their own place in it) as men can achieve, and such power to transform it as they can apply, must be derived from the world itself, not from any revelation or intervention from a reality beyond it. In rejecting any reference beyond the world (any conception of God as understood by Jew or Christian) Marx believed himself to be adopting the method of the scientist. He did not deny the reality or the importance for man of morality, art or intellectual interests, but saw them as having their whole reality within the world process, and as wholly conditioned by that process. Taking over an idea from his first master, Hegel, he believed that the whole cosmic process is not only "material" but also "dialectical." In general this means that any given state of things is part of a movement with a definite pattern—the development of difference and opposition followed by their recon-

<sup>1</sup> In the "Stalin" Constitution of 1936 there is substituted for this the modified principle: "from each according to his ability to each according to his *work*." This is said to be of temporary application during the present (Socialist) phase of development of the Soviet Union. In the final (Communist) condition of society the full principle as quoted in the text will be applied.



ciliation in some more inclusive unity. But Marxism is not primarily a cosmology. It is a philosophy centred on social and historical interests and developed as a theory of social change and a guide to social action.

The structure of any society is fundamentally determined by the ways in which men get their living, the tools they use, and the relations between each other which arise in the process of using them. The structure imposed upon society by the economic process is a *class* structure; or, to put it the other way round, the classes into which society is visibly divided are *economic* classes. This is the expression in social theory of Marx's materialism. In terms of his "dialectic" Marx saw history as a succession of struggles between the classes. In any given state of society the various classes to which the economic process has given rise are held together by mutual dependence, while at the same time their interests are opposed. Those who hold a strategically favourable economic position (through the ownership of land in feudal society; of factories, raw materials, or other productive resources in industrial capitalism; of money in its various forms in later finance capitalism) are able to control and to exploit those who have only their skill or their strength to sell. This control and exploitation is exercised in various ways. The dominant class is able to organise the machinery of the State in framing and administering laws which protect its privileges, while keeping the minimum of order and contentment which may be necessary to make society function. The conflict of interest between the classes, however, remains as a factor of instability and contradiction within society, the cohesion of which must in the end be maintained by force. The police and the army are therefore of the essence of the class State. Not only so, but the dominant class must also carry its exploitation into the field of ideas, building up and maintaining a system of beliefs and precepts which corresponds to and supports and justifies the class structure on which its dominance depends. Thus the intelligentsia, the priesthood, and officials are brought into service as dependents sharing some of the privileges of the ruling class. The particular stage of social evolution to which the development of capitalism has brought us is of special importance, not only to those who live in it, but to history as a whole, because it is the stage in which the lowest class of all, the proletariat,<sup>1</sup> by the very nature of the class structure in capitalist society, is developing a self-consciousness and an organisation which will enable it to overthrow the dominant class and to take its place. But when the lowest class has reached the place of dominance there is no longer any lower class

to be exploited: the day of the classless society has arrived. Here Marxism makes contact with the "Communism" of utopian vision; and the claim, "demonstrated" by concrete analysis of social history, that the achievement of the classless society has behind it the strength of an immanent social law gives to Communism something of the character of a religious faith. The ideal is affirmed as the real. This is a factor of great force in the psychology of the Communist; he regards his victory as *inevitable*. But Marx did not allow himself to dwell upon that aspect of his doctrine. He turned his attention to the part that must be played by men in bringing about this transformation of society. Here Communism develops, from its theory, a programme and a revolutionary strategy.

*Communism as a Political Programme and a Revolutionary Strategy.*—It is well known that the fundamental item in the programme of Communism is the thorough-going transformation of the institution of property, so as to make exploitation impossible, by the transfer to common ownership of all forms of capital and land, the socialisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. It is not to be expected that this will be achieved without struggle. The dominant class always fights to maintain its dominance, using every resource, including the military power of the State. The proletariat must therefore strengthen itself by organising its own membership in struggle against the ruling class. In this struggle it needs the leadership of a coherent disciplined party which by study of the changing political and economic situation (with the guidance of Marxist theory) will be able to judge when to advance bold claims, when to retreat before the rallied strength of capitalism, and, finally, when and how to strike the blows which will inaugurate the revolution itself. This moment will be the moment of maximum weakness of the existing order and maximum despair and anger of the victims of its injustices—the wage-earning workers and landless peasants. Such a moment may be towards the end of an exhausting war, and since it is of the very nature of capitalist rivalries that they produce wars, that moment will surely come.<sup>1</sup> In this field of revolutionary strategy Marx was largely a theorist. The supreme practitioner was Lenin, whose dramatic intervention in the Russian Revolution, after years of exile, was decisive for the transformation of the tentative liberal revolution into the total proletarian revolution under the leadership of the Bolshevik (then renamed Communist) Party. The first phase of the revolution after the actual seizure of the State power and the economic resources of the nation (or group of nations) concerned, involves the "dictatorship of the proletariat" to secure the destruction as rapidly as possible

<sup>1</sup> The Marxist interpretation of the place of the peasantry in society and its relation to the industrial proletariat is ambiguous and incomplete. This weakness has given rise to some of the most serious difficulties encountered by Communism in Eastern Europe, including U.S.S.R. itself.

<sup>1</sup> This leads to the paradoxical position that while the Communist must denounce such wars, he must also welcome them as providing him with his most favourable revolutionary unity.



of all the institutions characteristic of capitalism, so that the institutions of the classless society can be established in security. The structure of capitalism is international, so that victory for the revolution in one country is only a stage in the transformation of society.

*Marx as a Secular Prophet.*—Marx was partly social theorist, partly secular prophet. Economists have sometimes treated him simply as theorist: they have noted how his labour theory of value marks him as an economist of the "classical" period of Ricardo; they have analysed his conception of surplus value (economic value created by labour beyond what is required to maintain the supply of labour, and appropriated as profit by the capitalist); they have examined his prediction that capital would become concentrated in fewer hands, and great parts of the middle class would be degraded to proletarian status. They have satisfied themselves of Marx's theoretical mistakes and have sometimes concluded that there is therefore no justification for his revolutionary programme! Yet allowing for theoretical mistakes and perversities of judgment regarding Capitalism, as it exists within the framework of democracy, Marx must be recognised to have contributed something towards a more concrete and historical conception of the economic process. He saw its dynamic and evolving character. He recognised the instability of capitalism both from the economic and the moral point of view. It was economically unstable because it failed to ensure a market for its own increasing production by underpaying its workers. To avoid gluts and slumps, capitalism was forced by its own inherent character to seek markets abroad. This led to colonial exploitation, imperialist rivalry, and war. As a complete explanation of war this may be ridiculous; as a criticism of capitalism at one stage of its development it must be acknowledged to have substance. The moral instability arose from the features of oppression in the system, the treatment of labour as a commodity, the arbitrary power attaching to the ownership of capital, all provoking resentment in the proletariat, which by the nature of capitalist organisation must become a more coherent and organised class, more and more capable of giving its resentment expression in effective action. So when Marx calls in the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848, "Workers of the World, Unite!" and proclaims the proletariat as a kind of Messiah, bringing in the New Age, he assumes effectively the rôle of a prophet, an agent of the almighty historical process, set like Jeremiah of old, "over the nations and over the Kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, to throw down, to build and to plant."

The creative idea of Marxism, the "classless society," involved the transfer to social ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the equalisation of the actual use and enjoyment of wealth and power.

Of the fate of this ideal programme in Russia we have yet to speak. But the failures of the Soviet Union do not altogether invalidate the insight of Marx nor destroy the appeal of his prophetic message. Communism has arisen within Christendom. In one aspect it is a deliberate rejection of the Christian faith and ethics. Yet, in a sense, this is the rejection of a Christianity that has to a degree identified itself with the existing social order and become the "ideology of the middle class." If this rejection had been made in the name of a more faithful Christianity it could have claimed support. But it has been made by Communism on the basis of an avowed materialism. Marx, interpreting the life of man, refuses any reference beyond the material world to a transcendent reality. The whole life of man exists within and is through and through conditioned by the material universe. The real is the material. In taking up this position he was doing what many others, deeply influenced by the sciences, have continued to do—he was rejecting religion as scientifically untrue. This rejection does not arise out of his Communism, but is anterior to his distinctive social and economic doctrine. Many have rejected religion on broadly similar grounds without accepting Communist political and economic theories. From this standpoint Marxism is to be understood as part of the Secularism of our time. Marxism also shares with contemporary secularism the general explanation of the existence of religion as an illusion representing to the imagination the fulfilment of hopes and desires which reality frustrates. But it specially connects this illusion with economic and social frustration, whereas Freud, for example, specially connects it with frustrations of the sexual life. The economically frustrated solace themselves with religious imaginations, and this is an invitation to the exploiters to build up religion as a means of dulling the discontents of the exploited, and diverting their thought and action from the real world. So religion is by nature, and also by artifice of the dominant class, the opiate of the people. A great deal of "religion" is amenable to this sort of interpretation. It has indeed been necessary time and again for the true prophets to expose the false prophets and the deluded seekers after magical remedies, occult knowledge, and unreal emotional satisfactions. Not only so, but established religion, in the interests of social order and peace, has often associated itself with the *de facto* rulers. Recognising the paramount importance of government for human welfare, it has been very unwilling to countenance anything that could be called rebellion, and has relied for the remedy of grievances upon the moral influence of religion itself upon the existing government, whatever that might be, rather than upon the fundamental reform of social institutions.

It seems possible that Communists as protagonists of a social and economic theory and a political programme



might be detached from atheism under favourable circumstances—*i.e.*, where they can be led to appreciate the existence of a genuinely prophetic and ethical religion, capable of initiating criticism of social institutions and supporting the cause of the oppressed and exploited. But any easy assumption that the essence of Communism is its social theory, and that its atheism is an accidental feature cannot be justified. Plainly it is committed by its Marxist theory and by its actual history to the rejection of religion, and to practical hostility towards the Churches. The first fury of the onslaught on the Church in Russia has died away. The Soviet Constitution assures legal freedom of religious *worship* and of anti-religious *propaganda*. The pace has slackened, but the desired development remains the disappearance of the Church. Nowhere does the Communist Party expect to find in religion a dependable ally in its revolutionary task. Increasingly in Central and Eastern Europe it marks out the Church as its enemy. Tactical accommodations with religious forces have, however, been a feature of Communist policy from the days of the October Revolution, when a non-conforming element in the Russian Church was given encouragement. In this instance, as in every other instance since, the aim of the Communists was to divide and confuse their enemies and to neutralise the power of religion as a counter-revolutionary force. (In the recent war the restoration of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church was part of the rehabilitation of the traditions of the past signified more generally by the description of the fighting effort of the Russian people as the “patriotic war.”) Tactically the Communists may in particular situations seek the co-operation of the Churches, but it is never out of respect for the Christian religion.

By repudiating the basis of ethics in Christian faith, even such moral elements as might seem at first common to Christianity and Communism are distorted. There is no place in Marxism for any distinct concept of man as such, far less that of man as made in the image of God.<sup>1</sup> There is man the producer and consumer, economic man; there is man the member of a class (worker, peasant, bourgeois); there is man the biological species; and (reluctantly conceded) man the member of a particular national or cultural group. But for Communism the individual, personal, responsible man does not exist. This affects profoundly the Communist concept of democracy, the use of propaganda, the treatment of minorities, the value placed upon human life. It leads to totalitarianism, with its stifling moral atmosphere, against which not a few ex-Communists have now made eloquent protest. All

this is fully compatible with a heroism and moral rigorism which have been displayed to admiration by many of the adherents of Communism in war and peace. Indeed, the final phase of development of Communism seems to be in the direction of making out of Marxism a substitute religion. Some obvious indications of this are the following: the canonisation of Marx-Engels, of Lenin and of Stalin as the saints of Communism, worthy of the total devotion and trust of all the workers for the revolution; the recognition of the writings of these men as authoritative guides; the attempt to mould the whole culture and education of the “people’s democracies,” the arts, the sciences, the morals, as well as the economy, in conformity with “dialectical materialist” principles; the organisation of the party as an élite of leadership, corresponding to the priesthood or ordained ministry of the Churches. We see here from another point of view how the term “party” is misleading as a description of the rôle of the Communist organisation. The activities of the true party member go far beyond what we would call politics. He is the vigilant guardian and the enthusiastic promoter of a way of thought and life. His commitment to the party is more like that of a member of a militant religious order than that of one joining a political party in this country. The most outstanding feature of this “religion” is its abundant self-righteousness. The Communist thinks of himself, at least of his party, as the judge of all other men. The much advertised self-criticism of the Communist Party always ends in the liquidation or limitation of some minority opinion and the blatant self-assertion of those who retain the places of power. A radical atheism, it may be, has no alternatives but unlimited self-assertion or total despair.

#### COMMUNISM IN THE SOVIET UNION : AN ESTIMATE

The success of the revolution first of all in Russia (a country relatively backward in its economic development at that time, and where the industrial, commercial and professional middle class had not yet emerged into power and the economy was mainly agrarian) was not in strict accord with the theories of Marx, in which the bourgeois revolution and the thorough-going development of a capitalist industrial economy were regarded as stages through which a society must pass before the proletarian revolution and a socialist economy become possible. Nevertheless the revolution having succeeded there against heavy odds, the ardours and aspirations of world Communism have generated a “myth of the Soviet Union.” It is the fatherland of Socialism, the promised land in which vision has become reality. Moscow, with its Red Square, in which lies the embalmed body of Lenin, has become a Holy City. Stalin, successor to Lenin, is glorified as impeccable in his orthodoxy as a Marxist, heroic in his power, incorruptible

<sup>1</sup> To be quite fair, it is believed that the ending of all exploitation of man by man through the proletarian revolution will for the first time create the conditions for a free self-determined personal life. The revolution brings for man a leap “from necessity to freedom”; history begins; all that has gone before is pre-history.



in his character, infallible in his judgment. Instead of testing the achievement of the Soviet by the standards of Communist theory and ideal, the reverse is consistently done by all orthodox Communists—true Communism is what is done or desired by the Soviet Union or its leaders.

This myth has been generated by the faith and hope of the Communists themselves. It is protected by the remoteness and inaccessibility of Russia, carefully preserved by the sealed frontier and the jamming of foreign radio transmission. It has been encouraged by certain real achievements in industry and in war, and incessantly fostered by a copious propaganda. Yet in fact the Soviet Union cannot sustain the rôle attributed to it in the imagination and faith of the devout Communist believer. During thirty-four years since the Revolution it has developed features which bear no positive relation to the fair pattern of a society of comrades. In the judgment even of many convinced Marxists the Soviet has betrayed the Revolution. In the industrial sphere there has been a huge development of heavy industry, mining, metallurgy, chemicals, engineering, transport, in a series of five-year plans since 1928. This is claimed to be a triumph of Communism, but in fact it corresponds to the periods of capital accumulation in Britain and America and has involved for the mass of the people the same experience of excessive hard work, poor wages, and helpless dependence on those who controlled the capital of the country; in this case the men of power in the party and in the State, with their minions. The drive for higher production has been intense and unrelenting. The methods used have in part been the same as those in capitalist industry: the piece-work system, the production belt dictating the pace of the worker, the threat of dismissal. But these methods have been reinforced in Russia by the propaganda and the threatening presence of the party and the State in every factory, mine and farm, the effect of which was to treat every sort of failure in the economic process as a *crime*.

The rôle of the party in the drive for production is most grimly illustrated in two fields—agriculture, and the development or exploitation of the remote inhospitable regions of the Soviet land. The drive for production in agriculture took the form of a forced collectivising of the farms and mechanisation of the methods of agriculture. Technically these developments may have been sound. But in order to achieve quick results, and in order to assimilate the independent, individualistic peasant population to the industrial proletariat, and bind them indissolubly to the Communist State, the farmers were driven into collectivising their farms, and their resistance was overcome by force, relentlessly applied under the direction of the party. The disorganisation, accidental and deliberate, which this caused, resulted for the time being in famine and disease on a great scale and in losses of livestock which set back

production for many years. There is evidence that this struggle between the rural population and the party and State still goes on in a modified form. The opening up of new, sparsely inhabited areas for industrial development, the building of railways and canals, the exploitation of the resources of intensely cold regions, called for great numbers of workers, far more than could be induced to migrate voluntarily. Compulsion was used, and in the most terrible forms. Political opponents of the régime were sent to work under penal conditions of the most inhuman kind. The numbers of these have been variously estimated, but almost certainly run into millions—millions of men and women who have lost all rights and been degraded to the status of things.

In the political sphere only one party, the Communist, is allowed to function. This in itself means that no minority opinion within the Communist Party is allowed to appeal directly to the public. It must submit to the majority and present a monolithic unity to the non-party citizens. Opposition to the party, and minority opinion within the party, does not cease to exist. But it can express itself only in conspiracy. This in turn has led to a strengthening of the secret police as the detectors of conspiracy. The maintenance of the Soviet myth required that all such opposition should normally be suppressed without publicity of any kind. The dangerous elements simply disappear. Occasionally the opposition has assumed such dimensions that it could not be dealt with effectively without becoming known. Then public trials have been staged, designed to give the regime the opportunity of humiliating its enemies and asserting its own irresistible power. Socially there is evidence of the development of new privileged groups of office-holders, quick to accommodate themselves to all demands of higher authority and to take advantage of all political mistakes of their rivals, and to applaud and flatter the possessors of power. The original aim of Communism, the creation of a classless society has been, though not forgotten in propaganda, abandoned in practice for other aims—to make the Soviet Union as powerful economically as the advanced capitalist States of the West, to make it invincible militarily, to secure the present régime in its power. Such aims have led not only to tyranny at home, but to aggression abroad, until to-day the world is confronted with what can only be called Soviet imperialism.

This transformation of the Revolution in Russia from a liberation to a tyranny has been variously explained. Some ex-Communist writers emphasise the part played by the personal character of Stalin, insatiable in his desire for power. Some Western historians emphasise the importance of Russia's social inheritance. It has no Renaissance, no Reformation, no experience of democracy, no widely diffused culture. The methods of the Tsar have perpe-



tuated themselves in a country still barbarous in spite of all changes. *It will appear to the Christian, after making full allowance for the special circumstances of Russian life and history, that a development of this general character is inevitable when a philosophy of materialism, utterly inadequate to the nature of human personality and rejecting the*

*essential foundation of human personality in God, is taken as the guide to social organisation, and is combined with the impersonal relationships imposed by a large-scale industrial economy and the enormous power available to a modern government.*

(To be Continued)

## New Books

**Bošwa jwa Puō**, (The Heritage of Language) by John Lekgetho, M. Kitchin, and N. Kitchin, (Moriya Press, 4/6).

Tswana, like other Sotho languages in general, is so much in need of books for literary purposes, that a good publication in that language must be received with open arms. At one time or another critics have tried to explain the seeming indifference of would-be authors, by attributing it either to lack of independent thinking or to the fear of criticism.

Authors, on the other hand, blame reviewers and critics, for their often unjust remarks, destructive in a large measure, which have more than anything else, been responsible for keeping away from the public books that should have served a real need. "To err is human" and reviewers are human beings. Reviewing a book involves not only giving an opinion on the form and language used but also handling that elusive aspect of the human mind, the affective aspect. This is particularly true in the case of poetry in Bantu Languages, and more so in Tswana, which is characterised by its free use of tone. Correct rendering of a line depends on tone. For effect the Tswana poet relies greatly on this and he who will attempt to read his poem without taking tones into account, must admit that much of the beauty and meaning are lost.

This collection of traditional, imitational and original poems from three collaborators is welcome as a worthwhile contribution to Tswana literature. It has literary merits of its own which, by far, outweigh whatever demerits it may have. Lekgetho, whose language Tswana is, has preserved traditional melodies for posterity and has furnished explanatory notes at the end of the book for the assistance of readers probably belonging to different tribal groups. To be understood a Tswana poem must be clear in theme and references. This is its limitation. The first part of the collection consists of the twenty-four poems of Lekgetho. Introductory remarks accompany the lofty ones, giving a brief outline of the historical incidents that gave birth to these extempore outpourings of our simple poets. The names of the poets are also given.

From his many excellent poems the following lines bring out the character of Tswana poetry:—

*"Kgomo nka e gana e le tshêlthana  
Ka bosêlthana bo sêlthafatsa mmele*

*Ka e tsaya e le tshwana ka tshwana le batho  
Kgotsa e le tlhabana ka tlhóla go tlhaba."*

Translation:

"Tawny-coloured cow would I refuse,  
For tawny is the colour that the body disfigures,  
If black cow I take, like people I shall be,  
But if brown and tawny, pugnacious I shall be."

Poets used to be rewarded by chiefs and this particular one moralises on the colour of the animal he would prefer. A black cow is a symbol of the satisfaction of the chief.

And again, "*Ntswe ya ga Masinyi O gatisê thata,  
O gatisê O tlosê batho boima;  
O gatisê o thusê Baamothware,  
O ba thusê O ba tlhatlolê borale."*

"Ntswe of Masinyi, fight on,  
Fight on, remove our trials;  
Fight on and help the Motlhwares,  
Take all the trials away."

Here we see all the devices of the poet: personification, rhythm, repetition for emphasis, word-pictures etc. Parts II and III contain the original poems of the Kitchin brothers. I consider their first attempt most praiseworthy. Their language is simple without falling to the level of prose and they handle a variety of subjects:—heavenly bodies, historical figures, animals, love, wars, drought, sleep, iron ore, cruelty.

A wealth of information is contained in these poems. They are a valuable contribution to Tswana original poems. They are much simpler than the traditional poems and should be enjoyed by readers of all ages.

The language used throughout the book *The Heritage of Language* is very good standard Tswana. The new orthography has been successfully employed, although a few errors and inconsistencies occur here and there in the spelling of words, such as, *gore*, *go re*, the word for "Europeans" is spelt "*Makgoa*" instead of "*Makgowa*", as the people speak and as the other Sotho languages spell the word, and I cannot account for the double letter in words, *rangwane*, *goorra*. The writing of proper names will have to be settled in the near future. There are at present three varieties, Ra-Lotanyane, Ralotanyane, raLotanyane.

Borrowed words abound for the maintenance of the spirit of the poem as well as its rhythm. I regard this as



legitimate use of loan-words. Language is an important item of culture and culture develops by the process of give and take.

I highly recommend this book of poems for use in our educational institutions.

The print is clear and the binding is good.

M. O. M. SEBONI.

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***An Introduction to South African Methodists***, by Leslie Hewson (Methodist Book Rpm, P.O. Box 708, Cape Town : 6/6. Postage 4d.)

This volume of 103 closely but clearly printed pages is true to its title : it serves as an introduction—attractive and stimulating—to South African Methodists. Commencing with the work and worship of some Methodist soldiers in Cape Town at the beginning of last century, the story is unfolded of how Methodism has spread through all the provinces of the Union and up into Central and East Africa. It has been a spiritual movement, mindful of the needs of the European, Coloured, African and Indian peoples. Great men walk through the pages of this book, and the reader can never lose sight of the ceaseless toil and sacrifice, and even of martyrdom, for Christ and His cause.

Some of the numerical figures given are impressive : the Missionary and Extension Fund of the Methodist Church has risen from £5428 in 1899 to £53,180 in 1950, while the membership of the Church has increased from 110,665 in 1900 to 485,516 in 1950.

The book is not all laudatory nor a story of unbroken success or forward movement. There are frank disclosures of failure and retreat, of hesitancy over the creation of an African ministry and other slowness to advance. Acknowledgment is made of the efforts of other Christian Churches and Missionary Societies. "Let it be our joy to acknowledge these evidences of the confraternity of Christian missions." Even where a Methodist pioneer records the preparation of a hymn-book "by which means we shall be spared the disgust of singing in our congregations those dismal trite ditties, originally compiled by the Scotch Missionaries," the sentence is described as "bilious !"

Mr. Hewson rightly lets many of the early missionaries speak for themselves through quotations from their writings. Unfortunately, many of them were too busy making history to have leisure for extended writing on their experiences.

One fault we have with the volume is that it is so truly only an "introduction." Repeatedly we longed for a fuller narrative and acquaintance with the pioneers, both men and women. Outstanding life stories are compressed into a few lines. We trust that Mr. Hewson will yet give us the monumental official history of Methodism in South Africa.

R.H.W.S.

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***A South Indian Diary***, by J. E. Lesslie Newbigin (S.C.M. Press : 7/6).

The author of this book—a missionary of the Church of Scotland—is one of the Bishops of the new Church of South India. After a lengthy Foreword sketching the history of the movements for union which culminated in the formation of the Church of South India, Bishop Newbigin gives sketches, in diary form, of day to day experiences as he visited the congregations of his diocese. They are remarkably vivid and bring the reader very close to village life in India. They are also reminiscent of the New Testament Church as revealed in the letters of St. Paul. We meet the same internal strains, the same lapses from the Christian standard, the same ignorance of what the Faith really means, the same faith, hope and love in individuals and in communities, in short, all the pains and glories of a developing Church. Added to all are the poverty and squalor of India, the Communist propaganda and derision, and the mixture of Western ways with ancient village life. We venture to think this unpretentious book will be more illuminating than many larger volumes.

R.H.W.S.

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***The Shorter Oxford Bible*** (Oxford University Press, London and Cape Town : 7/6).

This Bible has been abridged and edited by scholars of high repute, Canon G. W. Briggs of Worcester, Professor G. B. Caird of Montreal, and Principal Nathaniel Micklem ("Ilico") of Oxford.

The publishers emphasize that it is not an anthology of fine passages but a skilful edition of the Bible for general reading, abridged, arranged and provided with short introductions on a consistent plan. It presents the text for the most part chronologically, but it emphasizes that the Bible is no chance collection of ancient writings, but the record of a Community, whether it be called "the People of God," "the Congregation of Israel" or "the Church," and that it is the record also of a definite faith. It is not only a convenient form of the Bible for those who want some guidance in their personal reading, but by its careful arrangement and its scholarly introductions, it constitutes a guide to the study of the complete Bible.

A special feature of the book is that an endeavour is made to fill the gap between the Canons of the Old Testament and of the New by drawing upon the Apocrypha.

Syllabuses for the use of schools, both primary and secondary, are provided at the end.

We cannot commend the book too warmly. It would be an ideal gift to a lad or girl.